Contents

Lis	List of Figuresx	
Lis	st of Tables	xv
Fo	oreword	xvii
Abstract		
1.		
	1.1. A decade of new discoveries and research	
	1.2. The Arras Culture	
	1.3. Methodology	
	1.4. Use of historical sources	
	1.5. Terminology	
	1.6. Chronology	6
2.	The Arras Culture of eastern Yorkshire	7
	2.1. Eastern Yorkshire in its British context	7
	2.2. Yorkshire and the Arras Culture	7
	2.3. Geographical study area	
	2.4. Funerary practices in eastern Yorkshire	
	2.4.1. Inhumation	
	2.4.2. From round to square barrows	
	2.4.3. From isolated barrows to large size cemeteries?	
	2.4.4. The large cemeteries of the Yorkshire Wolds	
	2.4.5. Burial types	
	2.4.5.1. Type A burials	
	2.4.5.2. Type B burials	20
	2.4.5.3. Type B and C warrior burials	20
	2.4.5.4. Type C burials with mirrors	24
	2.4.5.5. Type C burials with vehicles and horse harness	26
	2.4.5.6. Type D burials	
	2.4.5.7. Animal burials	27
	2.4.6. Organic grave goods	27
	2.4.7. Location of cemeteries in the landscape	
	2.5. Chariot burials	28
	2.5.1. Location	29
	2.5.2. Barrows and grave pits	30
	2.5.3. Complete versus dismantled chariots	30
	2.5.4. The interior organisation of dismantled chariot burials	
	2.5.5. Coffin or vehicle body?	34
	2.5.6. Vehicle parts and horse harness	37
	2.5.7. Weapons	42
	2.5.8. The deceased	43
	2.5.9. The horses	43
	2.5.10. Other animal bones	44
	2.6. The start of the Arras Culture	44
	2.6.1. Overview	44
	2.6.2. The earliest brooches	44
	2.6.3. The chariot burials	46
	2.6.4. Bayesian analysis of radiocarbon dates	46
	2.6.5. Heirlooms and antiques	

	2.7. Natural sciences and the population of East Yorkshire	47
	2.7.1. Radiocarbon dating	47
	2.7.2. Isotope evidence	48
	2.7.3. Skeletal evidence for engendered violence	48
	2.8. Non-funerary features of the East Yorkshire landscape	49
	2.8.1. Linear earthworks	49
	2.8.2. Settlements	49
	2.8.3. Means of subsistence	50
	2.9. A few preliminary conclusions	50
	2.9.1. Burials: a reflection of social status?	
	2.9.2. Import of ideas and luxury materials from the Continent	51
	2.10. British chariot burials outside Yorkshire	
	2.10.1. Scotland	51
	2.10.2. Wales	52
	2.10.3. Other regions	53
3.	The Middle Rhine – Moselle region	
	3.1. Chariot burials and general funerary practices	
	3.1.1. Location and history	
	3.1.2. Disposal of the dead	
	3.1.3. Superstructures and enclosures	
	3.1.4. Grave pits	
	3.1.5. General arrangement of chariot burials	
	3.1.5.1. Position of the vehicle	
	3.1.5.2. Position and orientation of the deceased (inhumations)	
	3.1.5.3. Dismantled chariot burials	
	3.1.6. The deceased	
	3.1.7. Vehicle parts and horse harness	
	3.1.8. Grave goods	
	3.2. The Middle Rhine – Moselle region versus the Arras Culture	62
4.	The Netherlands	63
5.	The Aisne-Marne and neighbouring regions	
	5.1. General funerary practices	
	5.1.1. Data	
	5.1.2. Disposal of the dead	
	5.1.3. Position and orientation of the deceased	
	5.1.4. Multiple burials	
	5.1.5. Disturbance and reopening of graves	
	5.1.6. Enclosures	
	5.1.7. Superstructures: barrows and mortuary houses	
	5.1.8. Grave pits	70
	5.1.8. Grave pits	
	5.1.8. Grave pits	70 70 70
	5.1.8. Grave pits	
	5.1.8. Grave pits 5.1.9. Cemetery organisation 5.1.10. Grave goods 5.1.11. The funerary scene in LT B2 5.2. Chariot burials – southern Champagne and northern Burgundy (LT A1) 5.3. Chariot burials - Marne, Aisne, southern Ardennes and Meuse (LT A-B) 5.3.1. Location and history 5.3.2. Chariot burials and cemeteries	
	5.1.8. Grave pits 5.1.9. Cemetery organisation 5.1.10. Grave goods 5.1.11. The funerary scene in LT B2 5.2. Chariot burials – southern Champagne and northern Burgundy (LT A1) 5.3. Chariot burials - Marne, Aisne, southern Ardennes and Meuse (LT A-B) 5.3.1. Location and history 5.3.2. Chariot burials and cemeteries 5.3.3. Disposal of the dead	
	5.1.8. Grave pits	
	5.1.8. Grave pits	
	5.1.8. Grave pits 5.1.9. Cemetery organisation 5.1.10. Grave goods 5.1.11. The funerary scene in LT B2 5.2. Chariot burials – southern Champagne and northern Burgundy (LT A1) 5.3. Chariot burials - Marne, Aisne, southern Ardennes and Meuse (LT A-B) 5.3.1. Location and history 5.3.2. Chariot burials and cemeteries 5.3.3. Disposal of the dead 5.3.4. Superstructures and enclosures 5.3.5. Grave pits 5.3.6. General burial arrangement	
	5.1.8. Grave pits 5.1.9. Cemetery organisation 5.1.10. Grave goods 5.1.11. The funerary scene in LT B2 5.2. Chariot burials – southern Champagne and northern Burgundy (LT A1) 5.3. Chariot burials - Marne, Aisne, southern Ardennes and Meuse (LT A-B) 5.3.1. Location and history 5.3.2. Chariot burials and cemeteries 5.3.3. Disposal of the dead 5.3.4. Superstructures and enclosures 5.3.5. Grave pits 5.3.6. General burial arrangement 5.3.7. The deceased	
	5.1.8. Grave pits 5.1.9. Cemetery organisation 5.1.10. Grave goods 5.1.11. The funerary scene in LT B2 5.2. Chariot burials – southern Champagne and northern Burgundy (LT A1) 5.3. Chariot burials - Marne, Aisne, southern Ardennes and Meuse (LT A-B) 5.3.1. Location and history 5.3.2. Chariot burials and cemeteries 5.3.3. Disposal of the dead 5.3.4. Superstructures and enclosures 5.3.5. Grave pits 5.3.6. General burial arrangement	

	5.4. Chariot burials - Aisne and northern Ardennes (LT C-D1)	
	5.5. The Aisne-Marne during LT B2	
	5.6. The Aisne-Marne region versus the Arras Culture	85
6.	The Belgian Ardennes	
	6.1. Chariot burials and general funerary practices	
	6.1.1. Chariot burials and cemeteries	
	6.1.2. Disposal of the dead	
	6.1.3. Superstructures and enclosures	
	6.1.4. Grave pits	
	6.1.5. The deceased	
	6.1.6. General arrangement of chariot burials	
	6.1.7. Vehicle parts and horse harness	
	6.1.8. Grave goods	
	6.2. The origins of the La Tène culture of the Belgian Ardennes	
	6.3. The Belgian Ardennes and the origins of the Arras Culture	
	6.3.1. Demographic fluctuations in the Belgian Ardennes	
	6.3.2. 'Poor grave goods' and 'plain vehicles'?	
	6.3.3. Other issues	
	6.3.4. Conclusion	97
7.	The Luxembourg Ardennes	99
8.	The Paris area	101
	8.1. Chariot burials and general funerary practices	
	8.1.1. Chariot burials and cemeteries	101
	8.1.2. Disposal of the dead	102
	8.1.3. Superstructures and enclosures	103
	8.1.4. Grave pits	
	8.1.5. The deceased	
	8.1.6. General arrangement of chariot burials	
	8.1.7. Vehicle parts and horse harness	
	8.1.8. Grave goods	
	8.1.9. Settlements	
	8.2. The origins	
	8.2.1. A new population of mixed origins?	
	8.2.2. A local development?	
	8.2.3. Conclusion	
	8.3. The Paris area versus the Arras Culture	
	8.3.1. The Parisi and the Parisii	
	8.3.2. The burial tradition	
	8.3.3. Vehicle parts and horse harness	
	8.3.4. Art style	
	8.3.5. Settlements	
	8.3.6. Same origins?	
9.	The 'Groupe de la Haine' (Belgium)	
	9.2. Disposal of the dead	
	9.3. Vehicle parts and horse harness	
	9.4. Types of chariot burials	
	9.5. Grave goods	
	9.6. Sanctuary	
	9.0. Salictually	

10.	The Aisne valley in the Oise department	127	
	10.1. The 1926 chariot burial.		
	10.2. The 2009 chariot burials		
11.	Normandy	129	
12.	Burials with parts of vehicle and/or		
	harness in northern Gaul		
	12.1. Geographical distribution		
	12.2. Origins and dating		
	12.3. Complete and <i>pars pro toto</i> chariot burials		
	12.4. A special composition		
	12.3. Normern Gaur versus the Arras Culture in this period	130	
13.	Eastern Yorkshire versus Northern Gaul		
	13.1. Dating		
	13.1.1. Iron wheel tyres		
	13.1.2. Supporting evidence		
	13.1.3. Rationale behind and disproof of traditional dating		
	13.2. Comparison of funerary practices		
	13.2.1. Inhumation versus cremation		
	13.2.2. Position and orientation of the body		
	13.2.3. Chariot burials		
	13.2.4. Complete and dismantled chariots		
	13.2.5. Square barrows, square enclosures		
	13.2.6. No perfect match 13.2.7 so no migration?		
	13.3. Conclusion and further questions		
	19.5. Conclusion and farther questions	1 12	
14.	Third century BC: Changes in long-distance networks		
	14.1. Social networks theory		
	14.2. Closer contacts in the third century BC		
	14.2.1. Northern Gaul in the fifth and fourth centuries BC		
	14.2.2. Northern Gaul in the third century BC		
	14.2.3. Internationalisation		
	14.2.5. New connections		
	14.2.5.1. Culture-historical hypothesis		
	14.2.5.2. Alternative theory		
	14.2.6. The Arras Culture: part of the Gaulish networks?		
	14.3. Conclusion		
15.	Functioning of elite and religious networks		
	15.1. Mechanisms and strategies of elite networks		
	15.1.1. Strategic marriages		
	15.1.2.1. Base and free clientship		
	15.1.2.1. Base and free chemismp		
	15.1.2.3. Archaeological evidence		
	15.1.3. Fosterage		
	15.1.4. Hostageship		
	15.1.4.1. Different types of hostageship		
	15.1.4.2. Selection of hostages		
	15.1.4.3. Treatment of hostages		
	15.1.4.4. The role of hostageship in the formation and maintenance of social networks		
	15.2. A well-connected evangelist		
	15.2.1. The druids		

15.2.1.1. The sources	163
15.2.1.2. The druids' knowledge	
15.2.1.3. Ritual, religion and burial	164
15.2.1.4. Connections and privileges	
15.2.1.5. Counsellors of kings	
15.2.2. Druids and the Arras Culture: a possible scenario	165
16. Conclusion	167
Bibliography	169
Classical texts	169
Modern sources	169
Appendix A. Catalogue: Chariot burials of the third and second centuries BC	187
Appendix B. Non-exhaustive inventory: Chariot burials of the fifth and fourth centuries BC	
Annendix E. Translations of classical texts quoted in section 15.2	263